1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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tion of males to females, and while polygyny permitted each man to have several spouses, there was little danger of adults remaining unwed. Furthermore, observance of cross-cousin marriage, together with sororate and levirate practices, regularized and simplified the selection of spouses. Nowadays, young adult men and women exercise more independence in the choice of mates, but marriage is no longer the more or less automatic social mechanism that it once was. Lack of land or other sources of income keeps many a young man from taking a wife, and this economic deterrent, together with the abandonment of polygyny, has led to a greater proportion of spinsters despite the increased percentage of men in the population. Without the levirate and filial inheritance of spouses, too, an ever-mounting number of widows are finding it harder to rewed and must achieve some other way of supporting themselves and their minor children. Whether the increase of unwed people has led to more frequent prostitution and irregular sexual conduct is hard to establish, but this may well be the case.

One of the most important attributes brought about by the changing pattern of Araucanian culture has been the development of a deep sense of shame, whereas the Mapuche used to be noted for arrogance and attitudes of superiority in dealing with outsiders. The sense of shame and a consequent shyness of behavior are most noticeable in the reluctance to invite white people to their houses for meals. This might be wrongly attributed to a lack of hospitality. For instance, although we were almost never asked to dine in native homes, we were constantly sent gifts of food. In the same connection, few people would accept invitations to eat with us in the caravan, although male visitors were generally willing to take a cup of tea or coffee. On one occasion Mrs. Antinao, who was forever doing us thoughtful favors, such as bringing dry straw for starting the fire on rainy mornings, was persuaded to take tea with my wife. She seemed very happy to have a chance to chat and to inspect the furnishings of the caravan, but at the same time she kept a wary eye out for me and hurried away the moment I appeared.

Feelings of shame are most apt to be aroused at those points

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at which the Indians are aware that they diverge most widely from accepted Chilean norms. Contemporary Araucanians realize that many people condemn them as ignorant, poor, dirty, shiftless, drunken, and lazy, partly because they have different forms of behavior and outlook. Yet the Mapuche have a nostalgic regard for many of their traditional practices and are unwilling to give them up altogether. Consequently, one detects uncertainty and a marked ambivalence in their attitudes. Sometimes they seem ready to forego native customs and become thoroughly assimilated, but at other times they try to resist the pressure to change. For example, even those who recognize the greater efficacy of medical science, may hesitate to forego the ministrations of a *machi*. Within a broader frame of reference the matter of land ownership is a case in point. The Mapuche may not like the current system of being forced to live on fixed reservations, yet most of them realize that this very system gives them a measure of protection, and that their way of life would be much more likely to be lost in competition with Chilean customs if their lands were not set aside as reservations.

A final review of Araucanian culture in transition throws light on several important characteristics of cultural dynamics. As in any study of dynamics, it is a matter of analyzing a balance of forces, in this case forces of sociocultural change versus forces of inertia. [illegible] all the former press with equal intensity on all sectors of a given social structure, nor are they always resisted with equal strength. With regard to the Mapuche it is obvious that pacification and the attendant loss of symbolic masculine values gained through boldness and fighting ability have had a far more drastic effect than the introduction of new styles of dress or housing and that resistance to changes in material culture has been less steady than the reluctance to accept basic Christian teachings. Then, again, it should be noted that changes originating in one sphere of activity are likely to spread into other areas of the culture pattern. Thus, ownership of reservation land in severalty begins as a material and economic shift but can be shown to exert a powerful influence on chieftainship and marriage customs.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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structed gate in the fence of his neighbor. (A gate in a bridle path, according to Chilean law, must be so constructed that a rider on horseback need not dismount to open it.) The Araucanian replied, "That family of Mapuche does not even know how to construct a gate; it never did and never will. As to the law: they would not comprehend it if they heard it!" 152 828 [417]

There is pride in appearance, as previously stated. Also, men are proud of their possessions: "Make sure that my three houses will show on the picture" (kitchen house, sleeping house, and storage place). 152

During instructions by non-Araucanians in contact making and in establishing rapport with Araucanians, I was warned not to speak of or to Araucanians as "Indios," but as "indigenas." "Indios" was a term used by Spaniards during the period of attempted conquest and is much disliked by Araucanians.

A tit-for-tat attitude exists when pride is hurt. A man had not been to the wake of his nephew. When chided by a non-Araucanian, he retorted, "I am going after sundown this evening. When my boy died last year, that family treated us the same way; they were not present at his death and did not come to the wake until sundown the following day." The non-Araucanian remarked, "I know of other instances where hardly anyone attended a wake; people were merely getting even."

Patience is one of the virtues of the Araucanians, especially of the women. Complaints are seldom heard. "A man will leave home to get flour, wheat, sugar, and yerba maté," said a non-Araucanian who knew every home in the area, "just about the time the family's food supply is depleted. He may be gone two weeks. Never will there be a complaint from his wife regarding it, although she and the children will have had little else to eat but meat." The 1947 harvest was poor throughout the Araucanian country. On many occasions one heard Araucanians expressing their disappointment or their worry about the year's food supply, but always it ended with a remark of having to adjust to it. "For two sacks of wheat that I sowed, I am harvesting only three. We shall have to adjust our living accordingly. After all we have our health and are able to work and that is a great advantage." In time of sickness mothers show infinite patience. "I have known mothers to sit up with a sick person continuously two, three, or more days and nights. Completely overcome by exhaustion, their heads nod, but only a few minutes at a time," said a non-Araucanian herbalist. 157

Obviously there are standards of modesty. Adults bathe some distance apart, a woman always keeping herself covered with a shawl 834

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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and passing the cup on to the next nearest person. Several cupfuls may be passed successively in the same manner. Not infrequently the bombilla is handed to the hostess who cleanses it by pouring boiling water into it before it is passed to the next person for a draught. 574

A place for an interview, on a sunny day, was prepared in the shade of a tree away from winds; on a rainy or cloudy day, we were immediately conducted into the house. Lunch time approaching, we were usually offered a bowl or basin of water and a clean towel (usually a flour sack) for washing our hands. Generally the informant gave us bread, cheese, or eggs to add to our lunch, children usually presenting them to us. A portion of our lunch was always graciously accepted by the informant. At the close of an interview we were often given flowers, herbs, or vegetables from the family garden to take home with us. Usually someone accompanied us to the next house, or, if we were terminating our interviews for the day, some distance toward home.

PRIDE, INTELLIGENCE

Pride is one of the predominating characteristics of the Araucanians. Non-Araucanians pointed it out on many occasions. A non-Araucanian man who had been born and reared among Araucanians cautioned us to give weight to this trait: "These Indians are very proud. They will be suspicious of you, since you are a non-Araucanian, and will probably not tell you uncomplimentary things of themselves until they find that you will not laugh at them and their ways." This was obviously true, for on several occasions an informant who trusted us and with whom we were in good rapport related only flattering things in a somewhat boastful manner about the Araucanians when a stranger, a non-Araucanian, came within range of hearing. Later the informant volunteered that he had told deliberate falsehoods, explaining, "I had to say complimentary things about our people; I could not make out who that woman was." 181 186

A young woman prefaced her information regarding the traditional way of making mudai with the remark, "I am ashamed to tell you that formerly our old women chewed corn and spat it into an olla and drank this after it fermented."

Kolupan arrived with a haughty air one day. With incensed pride he demanded: "Why do you want to know things about me and my people? Why have you come from so far away to find them out? You had better ask the Argentines questions, too; they are no better than we are." When asked to perform the dance of the naming feast, he retorted, "I am not only to tell you things, but now I am to dance 181 157

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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for you, too! And then you will write a book, and make money, and I will get none of it! That is what they are telling me you will do. And now I should show you how we danced!" He waited for no answers but got busy clearing a space for himself and danced. Since he did not do very well, because of his age, he refused the pesos offered him for his performance. "I will take no money; but you can get the doctor to clean out my ears—I have difficulty understanding people." He looked at pictures of Chippewa, Blackfoot, and Navajo and remarked, "So these are the Mapuche in North America. Are they Christians? Are they intelligent people?" His temper could be expected to rise at any indication that the information that he was giving might be slightly incorrect. At no time did he hesitate to disagree with the interpreter, who also knew the Araucanian customs fairly well, having lived in their country for more than 30 years as the wife of the only physician in the area, and who had known Kolupan for as many years. When Kolupan decided it was time for him to depart, nothing could deter him. "A man with intelligence knows his own mind," he retorted one day when we tried to detain him. He bade everyone goodby and was off.

Informants recognized variations in intelligence. Feebleminedness was exceedingly rare. Non-Araucanians spoke of the alert minds and exact performances of Araucanians when employed in non-Araucanian situations. Said one, "Their slowness of mind in their own environment may be due to lack of nourishing food. They live from hand to mouth, and are usually undernourished, unless they are fed in non-Araucanian places."

ANGER, QUARRELING, MURDER, REVENGE, CANNIBALISM, IMPRECATIONS, SUICIDE

Anger was seldom an unreasonable show of temper, nor was it often displayed. But once roused, "many, many, many words were used." "Our people do not become angry as quickly as do the Argentines; nearly every Argentine I know could be nicknamed because of his anger." (Cf. p. 284 for nicknaming.) A woman informant arrived for an interview in an angry state one day: "An old man from Quilaquina came to my house and told me to stop telling you things; that I am not capable of telling you things; that my Araucanian is bad; that he is the one that ought to be giving you information." (We explained that we had refused to interview him because he was intoxicated.) With vehemence and exasperation, she continued, "That man is drunk much of the time; he knows no more about Araucanian

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
Araucanians S64

the Chupat, and perhaps to Santa Cruz. Jackechan's son—the boy with light hair and complexion—volunteered to come to England with me, and I consented to take him; but on hearing that there were no ostriches or guanaco where we were going, he thought better of it.

Some of Quintuhual's and Foyel's people also arrived, but behaved themselves in a very different manner to the Tehuelches. Their women and children had all been left in Geylum, and the men walked about in a very independent manner, with a proud, superior bearing, not condescending to admire anything, or to ask for any presents. One of them, on the boatman requesting his fare for bringing him across the river, refused flatly, and then drew his revolver to enforce his denial.

Last, but not least, as became so great a personage, Casimiro arrived, attended by Meña, who acted as secretary. His costume had suffered considerably from his late pursuits, and his appearance was by no means improved by a gash in his face received from a Manzanero in a brawl at Sauce Blanco. He installed himself in the hotel, hired the fifes and drums of the garrison to play whilst he was at breakfast, and for two days kept open house for all comers, ending the day in an advanced state of intoxication.

At the end of this debauch a bill was handed to him which, I should think, took the value of nearly half his rations. This sobered him, and he, taking my advice, left the hotel, and crossing the river proceeded to Sauce Blanco to look after his rations and Indians. On the whole, the Indians behaved very well whilst in the settlement. I saw, of course, some drunkenness, but not nearly so much as I had expected. One and all parted from me with most cordial farewells, and pressed me to return to the Pampa, as they call it, as soon as possible. Jackechan was one of the last to leave. He, as well as one or two of the others, had found an old acquaintance in Mr. Humphreys, formerly of the Chupat colony, but now settled in Patagones as carpenter. We all met in Mr.